

ILLUSTRATIONS FROM THE WELLCOME INSTITUTE LIBRARY

ICONOGRAPHY OF DR WILLIAM KITCHINER (1775?–1827)*

PUBLIC interest in food and the extraordinary manner in which he wrote about it made William Kitchiner MD (1775?–1827) a celebrity in his lifetime and created an interest in his portraiture. The portraits which were produced to satisfy this demand have never been assembled in one place; they are imperfectly described in secondary sources; and one portrait in particular, by George Cruikshank, requires more extended comment than it has received. The aim of this note is to do justice to these neglected documents of a forgotten physician whose books on music, optics, and domestic economy are still of considerable interest – historical, literary, and even practical.¹

THE MEZZOTINT BY CHARLES TURNER

The only full-length portrait of Kitchiner is the mezzotint by Charles Turner, after his own design (reproduced facing p. 195 of this volume). The piano alludes to Kitchiner's musical interests, the telescope to his work on optics, especially his *Practical observations on telescopes, opera-glasses and spectacles* (1815 and later editions) and *The economy of the eyes* (1824–5), of which the second part deals with telescopes. The relevance of the stuffed tiger which appears in the picture as a hat- and cloak-stand is not clear, unless it was simply one of the more bizarre furnishings of Kitchiner's house, 43 Warren Street, London. We may assume that the artist, Charles Turner, visited the house, for he lived only a few steps away to the east, at 50 Warren Street.² Most of Charles Turner's engravings reproduced designs by other artists: of his 638 engraved portraits only fourteen were after his own designs, but those fourteen have a bias towards local scientific and medical men, as they include, in addition to Kitchiner's, portraits of Robert Liston of University College; of Michael Faraday; of the free-lance surgeon-anatomist J. C. Carpue; and of Sir William Lawrence, surgeon at St. Bartholomew's Hospital, all but the last within easy reach of Warren Street, Fitzroy Square.³

* By W. Schupbach MA, Curator of iconographic collections, Wellcome Institute for the History of Medicine, 183 Euston Road, London NW1 2BP.

¹ On Kitchiner see F. Schiller, 'Haslam of "Bedlam", Kitchiner of the "Oracles": two doctors under mad king George III, and their friendship', *Med. Hist.*, 1984, 28: 189–201. In addition to the bibliography cited there, see W. Brown Kitchiner, *Fancy's first, or tender trifles*, London, J. Moyes, 1829, pp. xi–xii, 1–2.

² London County Council, *Survey of London*, vol. 21, 1949, p. 65. Both houses were on the north side of Warren Street, their sites being now occupied by a modern office-block, the premises of the Legal and General Assurance Society Ltd, 355 Euston Road. A blue plaque inscribed "Charles Turner (1774–1857) Engraver lived here" marks a different house, no. 56, still standing, where Turner lived for a short period (1799–1803) before moving westwards to no. 50, where he lived from 1803 until his death in 1857.

³ Alfred Whitman, *Charles Turner*, London, G. Bell, 1907. Turner's original drawing for his portrait of Sir W. Lawrence is in the Wellcome Institute library: R. Burgess, *Portraits of doctors and scientists in the Wellcome Institute for the History of Medicine*, London, Wellcome Institute, 1973, no. 1707.3.

Turner's mezzotint portrait of Kitchiner exists in two states. The second state is reproduced here. The first state lacks the words "Author of the Cook's Oracle, Art of Prolonging Life &c &c &c." The mezzotint was published on 1 September 1827, six months after Kitchiner's death on 27 February: was the public already beginning to forget who he was? In impressions of both states, the second "I" of Kitchiner is the vertical staff of an E with the horizontal strokes erased.⁴ Mis-spelling of Kitchiner's name was common, no doubt due to his eminence in the arts of the kitchen. There is another erasure after his name, perhaps the letters MD, which would be redundant after Turner had decided to entitle his print with the name everybody had used for his subject, "Doctor Kitchiner". Turner's image of Kitchiner may be matched with the later description of him by Julia Clara Byrne: "How well I remember his spare, tall figure, his kindly face and genial voice, and the benevolent attention with which he condescended to children, and made himself the idol of the nursery."⁵

THE AQUATINT AND ETCHING BY GEORGE CRUIKSHANK

Kitchiner is the central figure in a caricature entitled 'Martin's Bill in Operation', engraved by George Cruikshank, partly in aquatint and partly by etching, which was published as the frontispiece to the first volume of the *Family Oracle of Health*, 1823-4 (Fig. 1). This journal was edited, according to its titlepage, by one "A. F. Crell, MD, FRS", who may have been a doctor of medicine but was not a Fellow of the Royal Society, and one "W. M. Wallace Esq.", who was presumably the same as the man of the same name who, claiming the qualification MRCS (rightly, if he was the William Wallace from Dublin who was awarded it), wrote *A treatise on desk diseases* (London, T. Griffiths, 1826), a work in the ancient genre of writings on the diseases of the learned. The *Family Oracle of Health*, of which Wallace was co-editor, contains much other material on the same subject, mixed with recipes, medical advice, and gossip about the London medical world, such as a "Sampsonizing match between Sir Astley Cooper and Mr Charles Bell" (1824, 1: 488-489). The amount of medico-musical matter in the *Family Oracle*, the use of the word "oracle" in the title, and the frequent quotations from Kitchiner's works suggest that he was a member of the "Committee of Scientific Gentlemen" who assisted Crell and Wallace in the production of the *Family Oracle of Health*.

The bibliography of the journal is problematic. The first volume bears the words "6th edition" on the title-page, but the claim is scarcely credible, as no copies of any other editions appear to have survived. The first volume does, however, exist in two issues: in the second issue, pp. 11-12 are omitted by misnumbering of the pages, and a footnote on p. 10 refers to "The first edition of this work [published] in August [1823]". The text may have been reset when the monthly parts were reissued as an annual volume, for according to Cohn, the first volume was first published in twelve monthly numbers in dark red printed wrappers between August 1823 and July 1824, which were issued as a volume on completion.⁶ The *Family Oracle* started publication

⁴ Whitman, *op. cit.*, note 3 above, pp. 118-119, no. 294.

⁵ [J. C. Byrne], *Gossip of the century*, 2 vols., London, Ward & Downey, 1892, vol. 1, pp. 451-455, p. 453.

⁶ Albert M. Cohn, *George Cruikshank: a catalogue raisonné*, London, Bookman's Journal, 1924, p. 99, no. 301.

only a few weeks before the *Lancet*, which first appeared in the autumn of 1823: the early volumes of the two journals are not so dissimilar as a modern reader of the *Lancet* might suppose. As the *Family Oracle* claimed, “Both have fearlessly dragged medical humbug and jobbery into open day – the *Lancet* for the profession, and the *Oracle* for the people”.⁷

Cruikshank’s print (Fig. 1), which was published as the frontispiece to vol. 1 of the *Family Oracle*, is entitled ‘Martin’s Bill in Operation’. Martin’s Act (3 Geo. IV c. 71, *An Act to prevent the cruel and improper Treatment of Cattle*) was passed by the efforts of Richard Martin (1754–1834), MP for Galway and known as “Humanity” Martin. In the print, Martin, seen from behind on the left, is escorting a constable into a den in which William Kitchiner, the quack “Dr” Eady, and a third man are committing acts of cruelty to oysters by eating them alive.⁸ Martin’s pockets are stuffed with a copy of his Act and a paper inscribed “Gullivers Travels. A voyage to the Ho[u]yhnms”. Kitchiner sits on a piano-stool at the head of the table, gloating over an oyster he is about to devour. On the floor by his chair is a song-sheet containing a parody of the type of lyrics which Kitchiner set to music: ‘The oyster crossed in love as sung by Mess^{rs} Sinclair and Grimoo at Covent Garden’, beginning “O gentle swain your knife” and ending with the refrain “Nor wound a heart so soft as mine”.⁹ “Dr” Eady, wearing a loud-checked great-coat, is opening oysters taken from a pail inscribed “NATIVES” (i.e. Milton natives, oysters recommended by Kitchiner).¹⁰

The print pre-supposes knowledge of the *sequelae* of Martin’s Act. The Act required the conviction of any person or persons who did “wantonly and cruelly beat, abuse or ill treat any Horse, Mare, Gelding, Mule, Ass, Ox, Cow, Heifer, Steer, Sheep or other Cattle”.¹¹ After it became law, Martin took it upon himself to see that it was enforced by patrolling the streets of Whitehall, Charing Cross, Smithfield, and Whitechapel, and having any transgressors of the Act brought before the magistrates.¹² But many escaped conviction because the animals they maltreated were not specified in Martin’s Act. Even bull-baiting was left alone after the courts decided that the House of Commons had not intended to include bulls in the phrase “or other Cattle” mentioned in the Act. Therefore Martin and his supporters introduced successive bills into the Commons between 1823 and 1829 to extend the provisions of Martin’s Act to bull- and bear-baiting, dog-fights, cock-fights, monkey-fights, cruelty to cats, and abuses of other domesticated animals.

⁷ *Family Oracle of Health*, 1825, 2: 162.

⁸ M. D. George identified the subject in her *Catalogue of political and personal satires*, London, British Museum, 1952, vol. x, p. 440, no. 14696.

⁹ “Sinclair” is John Sinclair (1791–1857), a Scottish tenor who sang in Italy and appeared at Covent Garden on 19 November 1823 in T. J. Dibdin’s *The cabinet*: see the *Dictionary of National Biography*. “Grimoo” [?] may be Joseph Grimaldi the elder or younger. The song is presumably a parody of a real song, but the latter has not been recognized in *The cabinet*, nor in Kitchiner’s operetta *Love among the roses or the master key*, London, Clementi & Co., [n.d.], nor in his *Amatory and anacreontic songs, set to music*, London, Bagster for the author, [n.d.], nor in assorted books of songs by Charles Dibdin the elder, though the vast number of songs written by him makes it difficult to be certain on this point.

¹⁰ W. Kitchiner, *The cook’s oracle*, 3rd ed., London, Hurst, Robinson, 1821, pp. 237–241.

¹¹ *The statutes of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland*, 3 Geo. IV 1822, London, His Majesty’s Statute and Law Printers, 1822, pp. 403–405, c. 71.

¹² Shevawn Lynam, *Humanity Dick*, London, Hamish Hamilton, 1975.

These bills met with strong opposition and little immediate success. Most opponents contended that cruelty to animals was a matter for education, not for legislation. But if legislation were to be brought to bear, it should outlaw any act of cruelty to any animal, instead of containing interminable provisions to protect this animal or that. The latter policy, as reflected in Martin's supplementary bills, would allow irrational exemptions: while poor men's sports such as dog-fighting would be banned, the rich men's sports of hunting, shooting, and fishing would be exempt; and while "higher" animals such as dogs and cats would be protected, animals such as rats, not much lower, would not.¹³ Martin's opponents left him with no possibility of winning, for if he were to introduce such a comprehensive bill as they described, they could not support it, as it would then entail such a *reductio ad absurdum* as prosecution for "the slaying of cock-chafers and the destruction of flies".¹⁴ Using this argument – all or nothing, not all, therefore nothing – to oppose Martin's bill against bear-baiting in the House of Commons on 26 February 1824, Sir Robert Heron MP, naturalist and menagerie-owner, asked, "On the hon. member [Martin]'s own principle . . . what he thought of cock-fighting? or what he thought of another kind of sport, in which he did not know whether the hon. member indulged; namely, that of torturing an oyster by eating it alive?"¹⁵ Sir Robert Peel observed that Martin smiled "at the hon. baronet's illustration of his argument from the mode of eating oysters",¹⁶ but Peel may not have known the true reason for Martin's amusement. Cruikshank's print, 'Martin's Bill in Operation', had been published the previous month, in the January 1824 number of the *Family Oracle of Health*,¹⁷ and it was to this that Sir Robert Heron was surely alluding.

The print itself is closely related to an article entitled 'Confessions of an oyster-eater, at the Public Office, Bow-Street', which appeared in the same number of the *Family Oracle of Health*, vol. 1, pp. 239–245, though whether the print inspired the article or vice versa we do not know. The title of the article alludes to Thomas de Quincey's *Confessions of an English opium-eater*, which had first appeared towards the end of 1821 (and which received dismissive comment in the *Family Oracle*),¹⁸ but its literary style proclaims it to be at least in part a work of Kitchiner himself.

The article purports to describe a case in which "The celebrated *mouthician*, Dr Apicius Redivivus Kitchener, was brought before the sitting magistrates by a posse of parish constables, charged with an offence against the statute 3d Geo. IV. cap. 71, commonly called Martin's Act; and most opportunely Mr Martin himself happened to be on the Bench at the time." A constable, John Dobbs, deposes that he proceeded to the doctor's house, and there, "in an inner apartment, surrounded with pots, pans, pipkins, and gridirons, of every sort and description, they found the said Doctor, and two other persons, in the very act of devouring oysters *alive!* The Doctor was caught in

¹³ William Smart, *Economic annals of the nineteenth century*, 2 vols., London, Macmillan, 1910–17, vol. 2, pp. 130–131, 244, 504–506. Richard D. French, *Antivivisection and medical science in Victorian society*, Princeton, NJ, Princeton University Press, 1975, pp. 25–26.

¹⁴ Sir M. W. Ridley MP in the House of Commons, 21 May 1823: T. C. Hansard, *The parliamentary debates*, new ser., vol. 9 (1 May–19 July 1823), London, Hansard, 1824, col. 434.

¹⁵ *Ibid.* vol. 10 (3 February–29 March 1824), 1824, cols. 489–490.

¹⁶ *Ibid.* cols. 491–492.

¹⁷ Cohn, loc. cit., note 6 above.

¹⁸ *Family Oracle of Health*, 1824, 1: 27–29.

flagranti delicto – with a fine fat native, struggling between his teeth” (p. 239). In his defence, Kitchiner puts forward four arguments. The first, which is perhaps a parody of the sporting lobby’s arguments against Martin’s Act, he argues that “unless an oyster is eaten *absolutely alive*, it is not worth eating at all”. “It is utterly out of the nature of things that the gustatory nerves in the human species could be excited by the *corpse* of an oyster. The semi-putrescent deceased would remain, unswallowable, a dead dab on the tongue of the eater, his gorge would rise in spite of himself, perpendicular evacuation would inevitably ensue; and Mr Jukes’s newly invented stomach-pump¹⁹ would be – all my eye and Betty Martin!” In the second place, Kitchiner asserts the primacy of the human stomach with respect to the brain, and the necessity of satisfying the former at the expense of the oyster.²⁰ Thirdly, he argues that the oyster feels no pain whatever and even positively enjoys being eaten: here he parodies the arguments of the sporting lobby against Martin’s bills, and may also be alluding to the arguments recently put forward by William Kirby and William Spence to show that “insects do not experience the same acute sensations of pain with the higher order of animals, which Providence has endowed with more ample means of avoiding them”.²¹ His fourth argument is an appeal to the notorious “or other cattle” clause in Martin’s Act, which excludes oysters and finally earns Kitchiner his acquittal.

The germ of this parody was almost certainly Kitchiner’s serious chapter ‘On oyster-eating’ in his best-known work *The cook’s oracle*.²² An extract from it was reprinted in the first number of the *Family Oracle of Health*, August 1823, as a topical piece in anticipation of the opening of the oyster-season. In the final paragraph, however, he insists that the oyster must be eaten when perfectly alive: “the true lover of an oyster will . . . contrive to detach the fish from the shell so dexterously that the oyster is hardly conscious he has been ejected from his lodging, till he feels the teeth of the piscivorous gourmand tickling him to death.”²³ The pleasure in its own death which Kitchiner grotesquely attributes to the oyster leads to an ironic condemnation of Tristram Shandy’s uncle Toby for declining to kill a fly,²⁴ and to a consideration of a famous crux in Shakespeare’s *Measure for measure*:

The sense of death is most in apprehension,
And the poor beetle, that we tread upon,
In corporal sufferance finds a pang as great
As when a giant dies.²⁵

¹⁹ A controversial statement, since the medical literature of 1823–1824 was much occupied with a priority-dispute between Edward Jukes and John Read (Reed) over the invention of a stomach-pump. Jukes claimed to have published his type on 29 May 1822: see E. Jukes, ‘New means of extracting opium &c. from the stomach’, *London med. phys J.*, 1822, 48: 384–389, and, for the background, Ralph H. Major, ‘History of the stomach tube’, *Ann. med. Hist. n.s.*, 1934, 6: 500–509.

²⁰ Alluding to Ignotus [Alexander Hunter], *Culina famulatrix medicinae*, York, Wilson & Spence, 1804, preface.

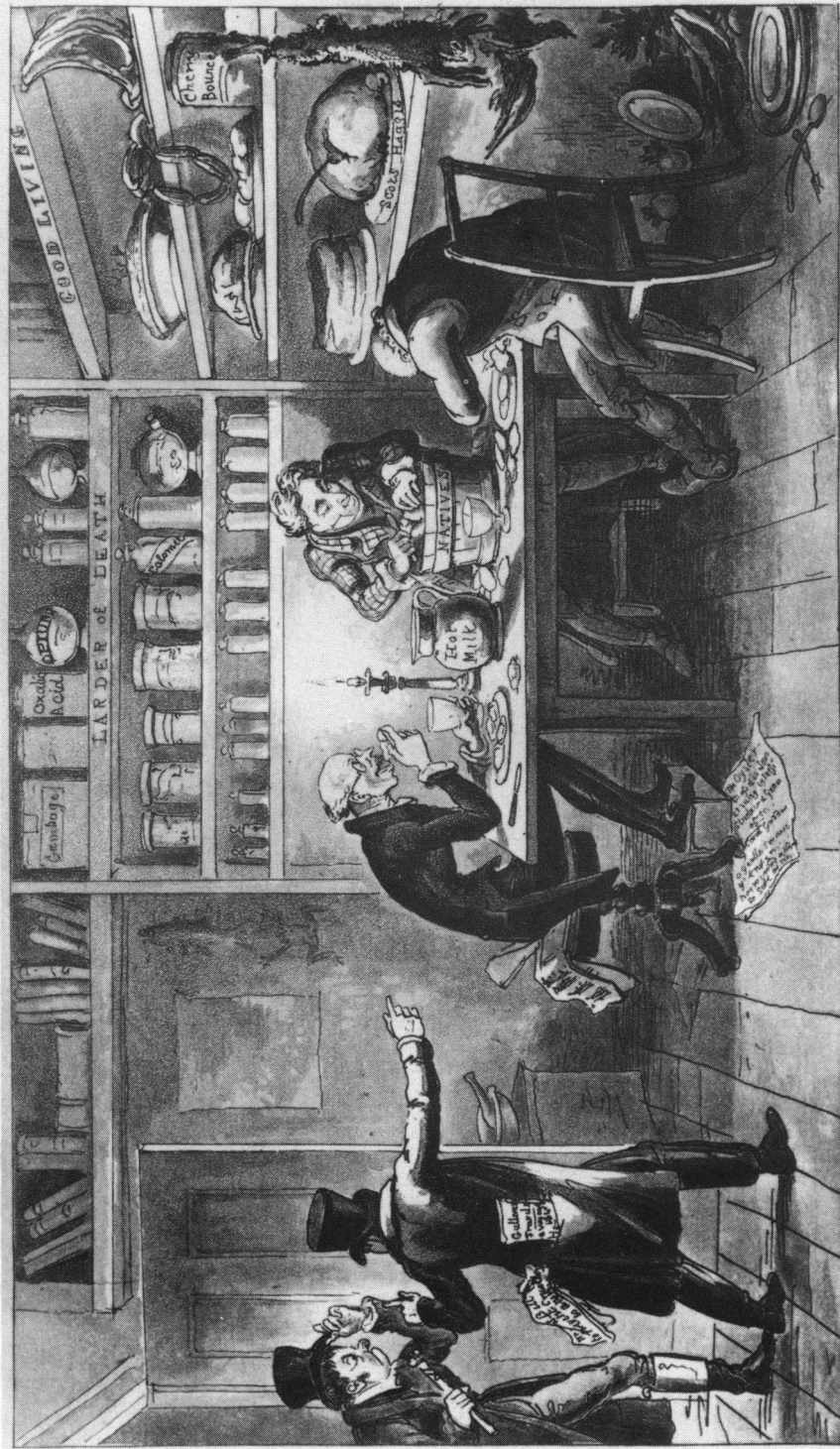
²¹ William Kirby and William Spence, *An introduction to entomology*, 4th ed., London, Longman, 1822, vol. 1, pp. 53–58.

²² Kitchiner, loc. cit., note 10 above.

²³ *Family Oracle of Health*, 1824, 1: 10–11, where the word ‘piscivorous’ in the present quotation is omitted – presumably by accident, for it is present in both pre- and post-1824 editions of *The cook’s oracle*.

²⁴ Laurence Sterne, *The life and opinions of Tristram Shandy*, vol. 2 (1760), chapter 12.

²⁵ Act III, scene 1, lines 77–80.



D. E. - Y
 M. - K.
Martin's Bill in Operation
 Published by J. Walker, 1824.

Figure 1. 'Martin's Bill in Operation'. (Left to right) a constable, Richard Martin MP, Dr W. Kitchener, "Dr" S. P. Eady, anon. Etching and aquatint by George Cruikshank, January 1824. Frontispiece to the *Family Oracle of Health*, 1824, 1. Wellcome Institute library, London.



Figure 2. Portrait of Dr William Kitchiner. Stipple engraving by T. Woolnoth, 1827 after J. W. Rubidge, [n.d.]. Wellcome Institute library, London.



Figure 3. Portrait of Dr William Kitchiner. Stipple engraving by E. Finden, 1829, after W. H. Brooke after J. Kendrick, 1822. Frontispiece to W. Kitchiner, *The housekeeper's oracle*, London. Whittaker, Treacher, 1829. Wellcome Institute library, London.

Illustrations from the Wellcome Institute Library

Though usually taken to mean that the beetle feels no less pain than the giant, the passage could be interpreted as meaning that the pain of both is equally insignificant, since death is less painful than its apprehension. This ambiguity, already noted by Douce, had been seized on by Kirby and Spence as evidence that Shakespeare would have supported their arguments against the sensibility of insects,²⁶ and Kitchiner, changing Shakespeare's line to "The poor *oyster* which we *chew to death*", borrows their argument to conclude with ironic joy that the oyster-eating season, from 5 August until 1 May, is not, after all, an unmerciful indulgence.

The theme of man's treatment of mollusca and crustacea was not original to Kitchiner and Cruikshank, nor were they the last practitioners of the grotesque to exploit its possibilities. Robert Boyle's *Occasional reflections* (1665) included a chapter 'Upon the eating of oysters' which took the form of a dialogue between Eugenius and Lindamor: the latter argues, in a Swiftian vein, that

We impute it a barbarous custom to many nations of the Indians, that like beasts they eat raw flesh. And pray how much is that worse than our eating raw fish, as we do in eating these oysters? Nor is this a practice of the rude vulgar only, but of the politest and nicest persons amongst us, such as physicians, divines, and even ladies. And our way of eating seems much more barbarous than theirs, since they are wont to kill before they eat, but we scruple not to devour oysters alive, and kill them not with our hands or teeth, but with our stomachs, where (for ought we know) they begin to be digested before they make an end of dying.²⁷

In 1850, Dickens introduced the theme into chapter 44 of *David Copperfield*, where David Copperfield and Traddles are presented by Dora Copperfield with a dish of unopened oysters, which they are forced to leave on one side. The scene was illustrated by Hablot K. Browne (Phiz).²⁸ Could it have been through Dickens that the theme was passed to Lewis Carroll (the Rev. Charles Lutwidge Dodgson)? In 1872, Carroll included in *Through the looking glass* the hypocritical Walrus and Carpenter, who invite the oysters for a promenade on the shore and then, when they are far from home, eat them alive:

'I weep for you', the Walrus said:
'I deeply sympathize.'
With sobs and tears he sorted out
those of the largest size,
Holding his pocket handkerchief
before his streaming eyes.²⁹

Three years later, they reappear in his tract on vivisection: while granting "the absolute right of man to end the lives of the lower animals [in which, however, he included dogs] by a painless death", Carroll denied the right to inflict pain unless there were some over-riding justification. Denial of the former right would lead to such a *reductio ad absurdum* as that we may not "open a score of oysters when nineteen

²⁶ Kirby and Spence, op. cit., note 21 above, p. 55. For Douce's explication, see *The plays and poems of William Shakespeare*, vol. 9, London, Rivington etc., 1821, p. 104.

²⁷ Robert Boyle, *Works*, 6 vols., London, W. Johnston, 1772, vol. 2, pp. 450–452, 'Occasional reflections', section 6, reflection 3. There is no mention of this essay in Kitchiner's *The cook's oracle* until the 1827 edition, p. 222, where it is called "very curious".

²⁸ Charles Dickens, *David Copperfield* (1850), ch. 44. The illustration by Phiz is reproduced in the edition by N. Burgis, Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1981, f.p. 548.

²⁹ Lewis Carroll, *Through the looking-glass and what Alice found there*, in his *Complete works*, London, the Nonesuch Press, 1939, pp. 168–172.

would have sufficed . . . Nay, we must not even take a walk, with the certainty of crushing many an insect in our path, unless for really important business!"³⁰ – surely an echo of *Measure for measure*.

In our own century Samuel Beckett has exploited the theme: his *Dante and the lobster* (1934) concludes with an ambiguous view of the morality of boiling lobsters alive.³¹ Cruikshank's print, therefore, though inspired by William Kitchiner, takes up a theme which has run through English literature from the seventeenth century to the twentieth, and sets it in the contemporary debate stirred up by the campaigns of Richard Martin.

Moving away from the dining-table to the background of Cruikshank's setting, we see on the back wall some shelves labelled LARDER OF DEATH, containing gamboge, oxalic acid, opium, and calomel, drugs which, with the exception of the purgative gamboge, were all condemned in separate articles in the first volume of the *Family Oracle*.³² On the right, by contrast, shelves labelled GOOD LIVING support "cherry bounce", "Scots haggis", and assorted cuts of meat, poultry, and pies.

Finally, why is "Dr" S. P. Eady shown as Kitchiner's accomplice? Eady operated a medical service at 38 Dean Street, Soho, where he professed to cure syphilis not merely by the use of mercury but by his own judgement and skill in its application.³³ The advertisements which he published mark him, by their combination of large claims and obscure language, as a typical quack. Although Kitchiner was anything but a typical physician – "I had my scruples as to ranging him with MDs", said one acquaintance³⁴ – he and Eady seem to have worked in totally different fields. Yet it is suspicious that while Eady's quackery was frequently attacked in the 1823–4 volumes of the *Medical Adviser*,³⁵ the volumes of the *Family Oracle of Health* for the same period, which also attack quacks, do not mention him at all. Could he have been, like Kitchiner, one of those "scientific gentlemen" who assisted in the production of the *Family Oracle*? Or are those gentlemen calling their colleague Kitchiner a quack by placing him in the company of an undoubted quack? A deeper investigation of London's medical nether-world in this period may provide an answer.

A second caricature of Kitchiner, is found in Thomas Hood's *Whims and oddities* (1826): it shows a man with a frying-pan for a head, serving up two quavers and a semiquaver on a hot-plate, a visual equivalent of the portmanteau word used by Kitchiner to describe his twin occupations of music and cooking: a "mouthician".³⁶

THE STIPPLE ENGRAVINGS AFTER RUBIDGE AND KENDRICK

Finally, we reproduce two rather different stipple engravings of Kitchiner. One

³⁰ Lewis Carroll, 'Some popular fallacies about vivisection', 1875, ed. cit. (previous note), pp. 1071–1082 (p. 1072–1073, 1079–1080); Jean Gattegno, *Lewis Carroll: fragments of a looking-glass from Alice to Zeno*, London, Allen & Unwin, 1977, pp. 290–298.

³¹ S. Beckett, *More pricks than kicks*, London, Picador, 1974, p. 19.

³² Oxalic acid, pp. 225–227; opium, pp. 27–29, 183–184; calomel, pp. 343–344.

³³ S. P. Eady, *An address to those who are unhappily afflicted with diseases of the generative system*, London, Dr Eady, [n.d.].

³⁴ Byrne, op. cit., note 5 above, p. 451.

³⁵ *Medical Adviser*, 1823–1824, 1: 40–42, 249–250, 302, 448; 1824, 2: 77–79.

³⁶ *Family Oracle of Health*, 1824, 1: 239. On the caricature see Schiller, p. 197 above, and the review of Hood's book in the *Gentleman's Magazine*, 1827, 97 part 1: 335–336. It is reproduced in E. Quayle, *Old cookbooks*, London, Studio Vista, 1978, p. 163.

Illustrations from the Wellcome Institute Library

(Fig. 2) was engraved by Thomas Woolnoth after a painting (probably a watercolour or a miniature) by Joseph William Rubidge. It was published to accompany an anonymous obituary of Kitchiner in the *Ladies' Monthly Museum*, 1827.³⁷ It shows Kitchiner the optician. The resemblance between the faces in portrait and in the portrait by Turner (Fig. 2 facing p. 195) is so close that some degree of borrowing seems likely – though in which direction we cannot say. Our last image of Kitchiner (Fig. 3) is a stipple by Edward Finden after a drawing by William Henry Brooke of a sculpted bust by Josephus J. P. Kendrick (1791–1832). The engraving was published as the frontispiece to the first posthumous edition of Kitchiner's *The housekeeper's oracle*, 1829. The bust was exhibited at the Royal Academy in 1815, probably in the form of a terracotta, and then as a marble in 1822.³⁸ Sculpted without spectacles, looking upwards instead of downwards, wearing a toga instead of stock and waistcoat, Kitchiner here hardly seems the same man as in the images presented to us by Turner, Cruikshank, and Rubidge. Yet the portraits of many eminent Georgians had two different iconographic types: taking as an example Edward Jenner (1749–1823), we have on the one hand, the robust country doctor presented in J. R. Smith's portrait, and, on the other hand, innumerable portraits of the “noble Roman” type derived from such portraits as William Hobday's.³⁹ The Kendrick bust of Kitchiner is his equivalent of Hobday's image of Jenner. But if Kitchiner's achievements, compared with Jenner's, offer little justification for a *monumentum aere perennius*, at least the antique type is more suitable (as was surely understood at the time) for the ostensible author of *The cook's oracle*: ‘Apicius redivivus’.

³⁷ *Ladies' monthly Museum*, improved series, 1827, 26: 301.

³⁸ Algernon Graves, *The Royal Academy of Arts: a complete dictionary of contributors*, London, H. Graves, 1906, vol. 4, p. 314.

³⁹ Burgess, op. cit., note 3 above, nos 1527.1–2 and 1527.38.